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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews desegregation litigation since 1896 and discusses literature on the effects of segregated versus desegregated schools on the self concept and academic performance of black students. The outcomes of busing and other desegregation methods are considered in the literature review as are student attitudes, race relations, and social adjustment following desegregation. Based on existing research, it is asserted that opinions of desegregation are intertwined with opinions of busing. It is further suggested that while opinion surveys indicate that most people support the principle of desegregation, there is little agreement on the means for achieving it. (JCD)

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History and Issues

Historically, blacks and whites have been separated in schools. In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld the validity of "separate but equal" facilities for blacks and whites in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson. Plassy involved railroad accomodations but was used as precedent in subsequent cases involving education. Plessy argued that state-enforced segregation stamped blacks with a badge of inferiority.

In 1899 the Supreme Court ruled on its first school segregation case, Cummings v. Richmond County Board of Education. The Court upheld the separate but equal doctrine in public education by ruling it constitutional to provide high school education for white children and not for black children because of lack of funds and not based on hostility.

In the late 1800's and early 1900's Booker T. Washington, black educator, developed the concept of industrial education for blacks as opposed to "classical education" for whites. Washington encouraged blacks to cultivate friendly relations with whites and to pursue training in vocational areas. In contrast, W.E.B.DuBois said blacks neither needed segregated schools or mixed schools. They needed education. He cautioned blacks to remember that there is:

> No magic either in mixed schools or in segregated schools.... Other things being equal the mixed school is the broader more natural basis for the education of all youth.... But other things seldom are equal, and in that case, Sympathy, Knowledge, and Truth outweigh all that the mixed school can offer (Bell, 1978, p.61).

DuBois believed that blacks should fight for equal rights and pursue educational opportunities in professional fields.

In Berea College v. Kentucky (1908) the Court upheld Kentucky's " Day Law " which stated that whites and black could not be taught together in any private school unless that school "maintained separate buildings for each race at least twenty-five miles apart (Blaustein, p. 101)."

In the Gong Lum v. Rice decision of 1927 the Court ruled it constitutional to classify a Chinese citizen as black for the purpose of education and denied her the right to attend segregated white schools.

Early in the 1930's it was evident that "separate but equal" was indeed separate, but in no way equal. Disparities in educational expenses in the South were blatantly obvious. The Commission on Civil Rights (1976) stated that one Georgia county expended $36.66 annually for the education of a white child, while only 43 cents was spent on each black child. The quality of educational facilities provided were similarly disparit. In a second county in Georgia, the declared value of white schools was $2,055 for each one dollar of the declared value of black schools.

The disparities in educational expenditures in public schools and the desire of blacks for equal opportunities in state-supported colleges and universities initiated the need for desegregation. In 1938, the Supreme Court ruled in Missouri ex. rel Gaines v. Canada that a black student, seeking entry to a Missouri law school, was discriminated against and denied equality of equal rights.

In the middle and late 1940's the minorities in America, particularly blacks, seemed to reach a new level of consciousness that took the form of quiet passive militancy (Hughes, 1980). She stated that this militancy was displayed in the nation's courtrooms arguing the cause of freedom and equal rights for all. The N.A.A.C.P., with financial backing,

fought for the "black cause" producing a surge of legal activity that tested the doctrine of "separate but equal."

In Sipuel v. University of Oklahoma (1948) the court ruled that Sipuel, a black female, was entitled to an education at the University in conformity with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and that the state must provide equal remedy as it did for applicants from other groups (Commission on Civil Rights 1976).

In 1950 the Supreme Court ruled in McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents that McLaurin (a black male) was handicapped in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction as a result of being set apart from the other law students. The Court ruled against state-imposed restrictions prohibiting the commingling of students. Similarly, and on the same day, in Sweatt v. Painter the Court ruled that a new separate law school for blacks (in Texas) could not, in reality, provide equal protection of the law in as much as equality of educational institutions is made up of intangibles.

The trend of the Supreme Court decisions in Sipuel, McLaurin, and Sweatt made it obvious that "separate but equal" was fast losing ground as a precedent in cases involving segregation in education. Yet, several Southern states made frantic efforts to make segregated schools more equal in terms of physical facilities and per pupil expenditures.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in Brown v. Board of Education Topeka that

> Segregation of white and colored children in public school has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law: for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of the law, therefore has a tendency to retard the educational development of Negro children and to deprive those children

> of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system (Johnson, 1976, p.95).

Legally, school segregation was doomed after Brown. Yet, the Commission on Civil Rights (1976) stated that Brown was not the end of segregation so much as the beginning of desegregation. The Court forbade segregation by law but did not order school districts to desegregate. Therefore, in many areas of the country, there was a "business as usual" attitude towards segregation.

The South, in general, continued to maintain it "de jure" segregated schools while in the North, "de facto" segregation was still prevalent. In Brown II (1955) the Court ruled that blacks be admitted to public schools on a non-discriminatory basis "with all deliberate speed (Commission on Civil Rights, 1975, p.3)."

Desegregation efforts in the South were met with massive resistance. Holden (1976) and Powell (1973) agree that resistance to desegregation was quite strong in the South between 1954 and 1959. Holden (1976) contended that resistance to desegregation was so strong in Virginia in 1956 that the State legislature, in special session, adopted "Massive resistance" legislation (legislation denying state funds to desegregated schools and making it available to provide segregated schools) and gave the governor the authority to close desegregated schools.

Powell (1973) used Alabama's "Freedom of Choice Plan (1956)" and Nashville's "School Preference Law (1957)" as illustrative examples of the strength of resistance to desegregation in the South. The Alabama plan permitted students to select the school they would attend and the Nashville plan allowed parents to choose for their children between white, black, and desegregated schools. Powell suggested that each of these plans was so liberal that no change in school segregation occurred.

In 1957 the Court's ruling in Pennsylvania v. Board of Directors made Gerard College, a private school for "poor white male orphans", subject to the Fourteenth Amendment "Equal Protection Clause" and mandated that it be integrated in as much as the board of trustees (based on charter) were agents of Philadelphia.

On September 3, 1957 the governor of Arkansas activated the National Guard to prevent the desegregation of a Little Rock high school. On September 25, 1957, under the eyes of "one thousand paratroopers and a federalized National Guard," nine black children re-entered Central High School in Little Rock (Wilkinson, p.91). Desegregation of Central High School precipitated a rash of violence and increased hostility among blacks and whites in Little Rock. Segregationists "practiced steady harrassment against the small contingent of Negro children (Wilkinson, p.91). In Cooper v. Aaron(1958) the Court ruled that hostility and violence encouraged by state legislatures and officials was insufficient cause to delay desegregation.

George Wallace's cry for "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!" was indicative of the attitude in the South toward segregation (Wilkinson, p.24).

In much of the South efforts were made "to maintain segregation in the schools by 'every legal and honorable means (Powell, p.128).' " The governor of Arkansas ordered all Little Rock high schools closed during the 1958-59 school year to be opened in September 1959 only after a federal court declared the closing unconstitutional in Aaron v. McKinley (1959). In September 1960 the governor of Louisiana was restrained from opening New Orlean's schools on a segregated basis. Holden (1976) stated that Prince Edward County Virginia tried to solve its segregation problem by abolishing public schools.

By the early 1960's it became evident that lower federal courts were becoming less indulgent in their attitudes toward Southern evasion. In Goss v. Board of Education (1963) Knoxville's Board of Education transfer plan was ruled unconstitutional because it produced racial segregation. In the Knoxville plan residential zoning was the basis for public school attendance rather than race. However, the school board permitted a student to transfer from a school where his race was in minority back to a school where his race would be in majority, thus encouraging resegregation (Wilkinson, 1978).

In McNeese v. Board of Education, delivered the same day as Goss, The Court held that blacks need not exhaust unpromising state administrative remedies before bringing suit in federal court challenging school segregation. McNeese broadened the scope of the desegregation issue to include the North (Illinois) and addressed the problem of segregated treatment within the school walls.

In Griffin v. County Board of Prince Edward County (1964 Virginia) it was ruled unconstitutional to close public schools and use tax monies to maintain racial segregation. The speed with which the South was continuing to deliberate desegregation of schools forced the Court to conclude that "the time for mere deliberate speed has run out (Commission 1976, p.4)." Commission (1976) statistic indicate that ten years after Brown only "1.2 percent of nearly 3 million black students in eleven Southern states attend schools with white students (p.1)."

In 1964 segregated schools had been an accepted pattern for over sixty years by law in the South and by administrative procedure in the North (Green, 1978). Northern schools were, generally, segregated as a result of residential occupation and administrative procedure rather than by law. For the most part, whites lived in "white" neighborhoods and

blacks lived in "black" neighborhoods, and their children attended their respective neighborhood schools (Pettigrew, 1975). Basically, the segregating policy of Northern schools was not challenged until the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

On July 2, 1964 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act. Title II of the Act forbade discrimination in all public accommodations. Title IV of the Act made it unlawful to operate "de Jure" segregated school systems and stipulated that federal funds would be withheld for failing to desegregate schools (Knoll, 1966). Title IV brought a new dimension into the desegregation issue, economics -- with the threat of withdrawal of federal funds from any program in which racial discrimination was practiced. The threat of withdrawal of federal funds made it economically unsound for many school systems to maintain segregated educational facilities, thus giving momentum to the desegregation effort and the implementation of Brown.

In 1965 another dimension was added to the desegregation issue, desegregation of school faculty. In Bradley v. Richmond School Board the Court ruled that the assignment of school faculty on a non-racial basis must be considered in desegregation plans. By 1965 none of the "30,500 Negro teachers in Alabama, Louisiana, or Mississippi taught with any of the 65,400 whites (Wilkinson, p.97)."

In 1965 the Court ruled in Rogers v. Paul that a grade-a year plan could not be sustained because it would take too long to desegregate schools.

In March 1966 the Office of Education revised its earlier desegregation guidelines drawing up tougher guidelines which called for

> 8 or 9 percent of their Negro pupils in predominantly white schools to double this figure by next fall. Schools with few

> few or no Negro pupils are expected to make a 'substantial' effort to catch up with the leaders. All school districts are expected to integrate their faculties (Wilkinson, p.104).

School systems, generally, were outraged with H.E.W. guidelines, especially in the South. The South was incensed because guidelines threatened its use of "freedom of choice" desegregation plans. Though freedom of choice plans were still acceptable the revised guidelines stated that

> the single most substantial indication as to whether a free choice plan is actually working to eliminate dual school structure is the extent to which Negro or other minority group students have in fact transferred from segregated schools (Wilkinson, p.104).

In Green v. County School Board (1968) the Court ruled that freedom of choice plans were unacceptable where speedier and more effective means were available. The ruling in Green stressed that "it is the burden of the school board today to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now (Commission, 1976, p.4)."

Subsequent court decisions mandated expedient desegregation programs. In Monroe v. Board of Commissioners (1968) it was ruled that a "free-transfer plan" that is ineffective in desegregating schools in a reasonable time period is unconstitutional. In United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education (1969) the Court sanctioned the inclusion of affirmative numerical goals in a school desegregation remedy (racial ratios of faculties at each school had to reflect the racial ratio of the school district as a whole).

In Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education (1969) the Court issued a decree and order to terminate dual school systems at once and thereafter to operate only unitary schools.

In Carter v. West Feliciano Parish School Board (1970) the Court rejected further delay in school desegregation and gave the schools eight weeks to desegregate.

Wilkinson (1978) states that after Alexander and Carter desegregation was to proceed at once. Desegregation came to the rural South suddenly but rather peacefully, with one notable exception -- the overturning of two buses bearing black school children in Lamar, South Carolina.

The nation's school systems had no other avenue of escape after Congress passed the Civil Right Act of 1964. The Court ruled that "separate but equal" was inherently not equal; that the time had run out for implementing desegregation with deliberate speed and freedom of choice plans were generally unacceptable. Congress has set up criteria forbidding the use of federal monies to fund programs in which racial discrimination is practiced. School districts can no longer evade, avoid or delay dealing with the problem of desegregation.

One widely used and much disfavored technique of desegregation was busing. Though busing had long been used to perpetuate segregation in the South, when transportation for the purpose of desegregation was decreed, it became a national issue (Commission, 1976). Opposition to busing was widespread. Busing foes emerged in all areas of the country and from all segments of society -- blacks, whites, rich, poor, conservatives and liberals. The advocates of busing were generally those who were privvy to accurate information on busing -- lawmakers, educators, sociologists, and other professionals (Carrison, 1972).

Busing further broadened the scope of the desegregation issue because it was not meant to remedy Southern obstruction but to overcome the

problems of racially separate patterns of housing in urban metropolitan areas. The first school busing case to attack "de facto" segregation in the North was Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971). In Swann the courts were given broad powers to fashion desegregation remedies. The Court ruling made busing a legitimate tool for desegregating schools as long as the time or distance traveled "is not so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process (Commission, 1976, p.5)." Swann changed the focus of school desegregation from rural to urban schooling.

The issue of busing for desegregation of schools was addressed in other court cases. In Davis v. Board of School Commissioners (1971) it was ruled that a neighborhood school concept which enhances segregation cannot hinder the implementation of a mandated unitary school system. Busing and split zoning must be considered.

In McDaniel v. Barresi (1971) the Court ruled against white parents who had enjoined the school board from busing black students to white segregated schools. The Court held for the Board of Education to convert to a unitary school system.

In Guey Hung Lee v. Johnson (1971) the Court ruled a state law and the desire of an ethnic group (Chinese) to maintain separate schools for their children unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In Drummond v. Acree (1972) the Court ruled against parents who sought to stay a busing court order based on the federal statute that effectiveness of (transportation) order should be postponed until all appeals have been made (Title VIII, Section 803).

In March 1972 President Nixon outlined a sweeping proposal on Education and busing in a message to Congress. This proposal resulted in a two stage plan -- in the short run, an immediate stop to busing, in the long run, constructive alternatives to busing. The results of each of these measures provoked question as to their constitutionality consequently postponing any action on them.

Meanwhile, court-ordered busing precipitated much commentary and occasional heated rhetoric. Former President Nixon said that "we should encourage the putting of scarce resources directly into education rather than require that they be spent on ever-longer bus rides (Orfield 1976, p.3)." A similar view was expressed by former President Gerald Ford:

> In my judgement it would be far wiser to spend the money that we might spend on busing to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio. It should be 8 to 1 or 7 to 1 (Orfield 1976, p.3)

In 1973 while Congress was deliberating on the Nixon proposal, the Court decided its first major desegregation case involving a northern city -- Denver. In Keyes v. School District No. 1 the Court ruled that a school district that gerry mandered attendance zones to segregate schools favoring one section of the city must desegregate its entire school system. In the non-busing case of Norwood v. Harrison (1973) the Court ruled Mississippi in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment for lending textbooks to segregated private schools declaring that such a practice constituted state support of discrimination.

Wilkinson (1979) contends that Boston Massachusetts was the sorriest chapter of the whole Northern desegregation story. In 1973, 85 percent of Boston blacks were in schools with a black majority, over half in schools 90 percent black. The city of Boston was segregated along racial, ethnic, occupational, educational and religious lines and almost unanimously opposed to busing. On June 21, 1974 a federal court judge

found the Boston School Committee had "knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers and school facilities (Wilkinson p.206)." Busing was made mandatory in Boston to commence in the fall of 1974. In September 1974, much of Boston desegregated without incidence. In other sections there were white boycott and anti-busing marches. In October the governor had to call out the National Guard following the stabbing of a white student. In December a gathering of angry whites trapped black students in a Boston high school for four hours in retaliation for the stabbing of a white.

Boston was fraught with intermittent violence during 1974 and 1975. As a result of busing and the subsequent eruption of violence in Boston whites began to leave the City of Boston. Wilkinson (1979) states that the

> Average white loss for the six years prior to busing was 3.7 percent per year. In 1974, the first year of busing, it jumped to 16.2 percent, followed by 7.9 percent in 1975 (p.208).

"White flight" had begun in Boston.

As busing became one of the main instruments to enhance desegregation, white flight escalated in many cities leaving them with predominantly minority populations. The predominance of blacks in Detroit led to the question of how to desegregate a black city, or a black school system. Busing within Detroit would leave many schools "75 to 90 percent black (Wilkinson p.219)." Metropolitan busing was investigated as a possible solution. In Milliken v. Bradley (1975) the Court ruled against metropolitan busing in Detroit and the use of suburban pupils to desegregate inner-city schools.

In Oliver v. Kalamazoo Board of Education (1975) the Court decided that where school segregation constitutes a constitutional

violation, remedy is not only proper but necessary (Hughes p.165). In Hart v. Community School Board (1975) the Court ruled that mere racial imbalance in schools resulting from population shifts was not enough to constitutionally call it segregation.

The Morales v. Shannon (Texas)(1975) and the U.S. v. Texas Educational Agency (1976) cases involve racial balance. In Morales the Court ruled that it is not necessary that all schools in a unitary school system substaintially reflect the racial balance of the school community as a whole. It also stated that ability groupings was not necessary unconstitutional. In U.S. v. Texas it was ruled that quotas may be used as a starting point in achieving desegregation of segregated public school systems,but that quotas were not an ironclad requirement.

The use of busing as a remedy in school desegregation was restricted in Austin Independent School District v. United States (1976). In Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman (1977) the court restriction of busing continued, substantially curtailing busing in Dayton.

Wilkinson (1979) says a predictable pattern of behavior has emerged from cities under court order to desegregate schools. The first year of the busing cycle is usually marked by resistance rallies, petitions, boycotts, political rhetoric and sporadic violence. The second year usually witnesses the same, but to a lesser degree. The third year the issue usually drops from public sight though racial tensions often continue in the classroom.

In 1981 busing continues to be an issue though not as frenzied as in the early and middle 1970's. On March 12, 1981 the California Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision to end mandatory busing in Los Angeles. Effective April 20, 1981, twenty-three thousand students in Los Angeles

will be able to return to their neighborhood schools.

Student Attitudes, Academic Achievement, and Social Relationships

The argument that separate facilities for blacks stamped them with a badge of inferiority began with Plessy and was argued in the courts until Brown, and after, with many parents, desegregationist, lawmakers, and educators saying that segregation has an adverse psychological effect on blacks self-concept and academic achievement. A search of literature revealed little evidence which clearly shows psychological benefits which might accrue as a result of desegregation. In contrast, numerous studies have investigated the academic consequences of desegregation especially as it effects blacks. At best the results of the studies are contradictory, and at worst most show no significant gain or loss.

In studying the attitudes and self-concept of blacks Pugh (1943) found that segregated blacks had better social adjustment than desegregated blacks. Hodkins (1969) and White (1973) pointed out that a segregated environment may actually be beneficial for black self-esteem and motives for achievement. Ausubel (1958) and Williams (1970) supported the belief that desegregation is a stressful, maybe even harmful, experience for blacks.

Dreger and Miller (1960) found that there was a marked difference in the self-concepts of blacks and whites, with self-concept being less adequate in blacks. In the investigation of self-concept of black and white six graders Gibbey and Gabler (1967) found that white children tended to see themselves more realistically and accurately while black children tended to overestimate their intellectual abilities. On the other hand, findings in a study by Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968), comparing self-attitudes of eight grade Southern rural black and white students,

contradict the assertion of damaged self-concept of the black child. In their findings the black students more frequently reported themselves as being satisfied with the person they were; as being popular with their peers, and as having a happier home life than the average child.

Findings in a study by Williams and Byars (1968), comparing the self-concept of 134 black and 176 white high school seniors, indicated that blacks scored significantly lower than whites on twelve of the seventeen self-evaluation dimensions. Findings also revealed that though there was no significant difference between the performance of the thirty-four black students in desegregated schools and those black students in segregated schools, those in recently desegregated schools showed some trend towards improvement in self-esteem. Powell (1973) found no significant difference in the mean positive scores of 157 white students (67% advantaged) and 194 black students (50% disadvantaged), each group scored below the normative mean.

Armour (1972) suggested that desegregation policy came first, and social scientists filled in pro-desegregation evidence afterwards. Young and Bress (1975) declared that it was impossible for social scientists to testify on the psychologically damaging effects of segregated schools since studies prior to 1954 had failed to single out segregated schools from the total social complexity of racial prejudice, discrimination, and segregation. Cohen (1974) supported the view held by Young and Bress saying that prior to Brown there had been no hard evidence on the impact of segregation.

Clark (1955) stated that school integration alone would raise the self-concept and academic performance of black children to match those of white children, reflecting the views of many social scientists of that time. Pettigrew (1975) believed that segregated education was not only

morally reprehensible but educationally defeating for each child. Coleman (1966) believed that the higher proportion of whites in a school, the higher the level of black achievement. On the other hand, Sowell (1972) held that segregated schools did not mean inferior education for the black child, citing the many parochial schools established to educate Catholic, Greek, and Jewish children as illustrative examples of segregated education being a part of education in the United States and mentioning Dunbar High School in Washington, D. C. as offering quality education to blacks for many years prior to Brown. Additionally, Sizemore (1978) advocated the maintenance of some predominantly black schools to provide an alternative for blacks who may react aggressively and violently to the racism that exists in some desegregated schools, resulting in increased drop-out by blacks. However, Green (1978) maintained that fewer learning opportunities in segregated schools reinforces a minority student's tendency to accept the dictum that he is "nobody."

Research has not supported the contention that desegregation alone would raise the self-concept and academic performance of black children to match those of white children. In a study of the academic effects of integration on black children, cited by Miller (1979), findings revealed that newly integrated black students failed to exceed the growth of the matched students attending de facto segregated classes on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS).

In a three year longitudinal study evaluating the effect of court-ordered busing in Waco, Texas findings showed that: 1) achievement performance declined significantly between bused and non-bused blacks, 2) all minority children had lower achievement scores after two years of busing, and 3) attitudes of self-concept of bused students were

significantly lower on tests than non-bused students (Miller 1979). The results of Shellenberg's and Halteman's (1976) two-year longitudinal study on bused children and those who stayed in inner city schools showed that elementary school children who were bused did no better academically than those who remained in inner-city schools. Prewitt's (1971) study of racial integration in the elementary schools of Lufkin, Texas showed that desegregation of classrooms had negative effects on achievement of third, fourth and fifth-graders. Additionally, in sixth grade, both black and white students achieved significantly more in segregated classrooms than did their peers in desegregated classrooms.

Barrows (1972) indicated that after three years of extensive busing on Charlotte, North Carolina the effect of busing on academic achievement was difficult, if not impossible, to access. Wicker (1974) maintained that there is little evidence to show that educational test scores of minority children had improved in those districts that had been desegregated.

Some studies do show positive effects of desegregation. Caplin (1969) found desegregated students to have higher self-esteem than segregated students, however, he warned that the higher level of self-esteem may only be the result of a temporary upsurge in response to a novel situation. St. John (1971) found, in comparing black children who had several years of experience in desegregated schools with those newly desegregated, that desegregation could have the effect of initially depressing self esteem. However, black children who had been exposed to desegregated school settings for longer periods of time were relatively well adjusted and had a good sense of control.

In comparing the educational achievement of white and black

students who lived in segregated black areas and attended segregated black schools with white and black students who also lived in segregated black areas but who were bused to integrated and segregated schools Lemke's (1979) findings indicated that busing resulted in specific increases in achievement for both white and black students. Data indicated that on four of five ITBS instruments, white students who lived in predominantly black areas and were bused to integrated and segregated white schools outperformed the white students who lived in black areas and attended segregated black schools. Data indicated that on ITBS - Vocabulary, blacks students who were bused to segregated white schools outperformed both black students who attended segregated black schools and black students who were bused to integrated schools. Miller (1979) maintained that school desegregation alone does not raise black children's self-concept or academic achievement. Miller (1979), Bennett (1979) and St. John (1972) agreed that other factors must be recognized and dealt with. St. John stated that we tend to forget that desegregation is only one component of quality education and not necessarily for all children at all stages, the most important component.

Bennett suggests that the superiority of desegregated schooling over segregated schooling depends upon the attitudes and behaivor or teachers and other children in the classroom. Findings in her study of Indianapolis elementary school children show that the teacher is the dominant force in creating a classroom climate of warmth, spontaniety, and equal expectations. Findings also revealed that most teachers interact differently with students according to race, ethnicity, and perceived socioeconomic status, intentionally or unintentionally. Dusek (1975) agrees with this finding, maintaining that teachers

frequently assume that blacks and minorities are incapable of learning simply because they are black and poor.

Williams and Byars (1968) state that it is difficult to upgrade academic achievement of black students without providing an atmosphere where they can discover and respect themselves. To this end, Pettigrew (1975) maintains that the need for interracial staff in desegregated schools is critical, not only as models for the students but to train each other. Findings in a study of interracial violence in 1969-70 at the high school level showed that those schools having black staff percentages equal to or greater than black student population percentages had far less racial strife than those having only token black staff. Pettigrew suggests that substantial minority percentages are necessary for successful desegregation. He states that

> Tokenism is psychologically difficult for the group that is the token number. It encourages either isolation on the one hand or "petism" on the other -- special favors (p. 143).

Findings by the Commission on Civil Rights (1976) show that school desegregation should be initiated in the early elementary grades. Pettigrew (1975), Erbe (1977), Libarkin (1977) and Bennett (1979) supported these findings, suggesting that grades four through eight are the most difficult ones in which to desegregate. They agree that desegregation should be initiated while children are young and their racial attitudes have not solidified, preferably in kindergarten. Libarkin (1977) found that social separation between races seemed to occur around fourth grade although individual close friendships continued.

Findings by Erbe (1977), Johnsor (1977), and Fort Wayne Urban League (1977) showed that students were more favorable towards desegregation than their parents. In a study of attitudes and behavior

of fifth through eight grade students, in a desegregated (Illinois) school system, Erbes (1977) finding showed that 64 percent of the students agreed that it was a good idea for blacks and whites to go to school together and 72 percent said they personally liked their desegregated classrooms. Among white students 50 percent approved of the principle of desegregation, and 66 percent liked their own desegregated classrooms. Only 41 percent of white public school parents approved of the desegregation of their local schools. Support for desegregation was even lower among white community residents with no children in public schools, with only 26 percent approving.

Additionally, Erbe (1977) found that black students favored desegregation somewhat less than their parents or other residents of their community. Sixty-four percent of black students liked the idea of having black and white students go to school together, and 76 percent liked their integrated classrooms, while 94 percent of black public school parents favored desegregation in the district. Eighty-three percent of the black community residents without public school children favored desegregation.

Erbe's findings revealed that when student attitudes were broken down by grade level the attitudes of black students in different grades were very similar, but the attitudes of white differed greatly by grade level. In fifth grade 65 percent of the white students agreed to the principle of desegregation but the percentage dropped to 45 in eight grade. By eighth grade, white student attitudes closely approached those of their parents. Similarly, the percentage who liked integrated classes dropped from 72 in fifth grade to 58 in eighth grade.

Nearly three-fourths of the students in the Fort Wayne (1977) study said they were in favor of school desegregation. Of those who said

that they did not favor desegregation, 86 percent said it was because they were not in favor of busing. Eighty-six percent of the black respondents were in favor of school desegregation. The students, in general, felt that attendance at a desegregated school would be useful in helping them to get along with other people and in coping with new situations.

Of all respondents 57.8 percent reported that their racial attitudes had changed positively as a result of attending a desegregated school. Most of the students felt that more exposure, contact and interaction would help eliminate negative attitudes. A majority of students (55.5%) said that teachers and administrators did not promote better racial understanding. Of the students who said that teachers and administrators were promoting understanding 44.5 percent said it was done by treating students equally, by urging students to participate in activities, by having black and white teachers and administrators, and by eliminating tracking.

Students noted racial conflicts during their junior high school experience - stating that junior high school teachers and administrators over reacted to minor incidents. Some students felt that teachers often expected trouble and that what occurred was a result of a self-fulfilling prophecy. In addition, students were concerned that many teachers were not prepared to deal with a multicultural population, thus making them insensitive to the students. Libarkin (1977) suggested teachers must become aware that not every racial confrontation is necessarily racially motivated. Children often use racial slurs to gain power over each other, even within the same race.

Nearly every student in the Urban League study believed that his

own racial attitude differed considerably from his parents' attitude. Many white children expressed fear of parental hostility, rejection, and even of being disowned if they were to take their black friends home with them. On the other hand, black students said their parents were more accepting of their white friends.

In a study of school-related attitudes of students in grades three through six Johnson (1977) found that, overall, desegregation had little or no impact on attitudes of white children who had attended predominantly white schools the year before. The desegregated children expressed the same liking for school (72%) and teachers (82%) a year after desegregation as they did the year before (school 85%, teachers 81%). They had similar perceptions of teachers fairness before (85%) and after (81%) desegregation. Sixty-three percent thought they were learning to read about the same as others in their class before desegregation and 65 percent thought so a year after being desegregated. Although the students reported that they liked their school and teachers about as well after desegregation as before, a greater percentage of both black and white students indicated that the teachers let some students get away with things that others could not get away with.

Both black and white students who attended predominantly black schools before desegregation tended to have less positive feelings about their academic achievement after desegregation. The percentage of black children who said that they were learning to read better than other children in their class decreased from 26 percent to 15 percent a year after desegregation. For white children the percentage decreased from 22 percent to 13 percent during the same period of time.

In an analysis of the 1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey Jencks and Christopher (1975) found that test performance of blacks

declined in classrooms with a high percentage of whites.

In an evaluation of formal and informal relationships between black and white students in a racially mixed school with a past record of racial discord, Cuseck and Ayling (1973) found that: 1) informal interracial interaction was virtually non existent, 2) formal interaction occurred only in highly structured situations, and 3) attempts at integration were discouraged by forces within the school.

In Mahan's (1968) study of busing and the social adjustment of black children in Hartford findings indicated that 68 percent of the bused youngsters took part in after school activities in the suburb on a regular basis. On sociometric measures bused children were selected by suburban children in a proportion slightly greater than their numerical proportion in the classroom. Data also indicated that 70 percent of the bused pupils made superior social adjustment while only 12 percent made poor adjustment, by teacher report.

Opinions of Desegregation and Effect on Community

The review of literature on attitudes toward desegregation evidences that opinions of desegregation are inextricably intertwined with opinions of busing. In fact, to some desegregation and busing are synonymous. When most people are asked to address the issue of desegregation, they respond to the question of busing. By whatever name school desegregation is known, its implications and ramifications effect not only the attitudes, achievement and social relationships of the children involved, but also the lives of their parents and teachers as well as affecting many facets of community life.

Opinions of busing and desegregation have been issued from every sphere of society. Former President Nixon said

> ...when you bus children, particularly young children, away from their neighborhood school, into an unfamiliar neighborhood, whether they are black or white, it leads to inferior education... it divides communities, it creates hostility among people that didn't exist before (Integrated Education, p.21)

Former U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young stated that the decision to remove his child from a predominantly white school, with ill-trained teachers and a high percentage of lower class white children, and enroll him in a predominantly black school, nearer his home and attended by a large percentage of middle class black children, posed a dilemma for him. However, when he found that his belief in integration was posing harm to the educational future of his child, he decided that his child's education was more important than his devotion to integration (Bell 1980).

Former Attorney General Griffin Bell expressed disapproval of mass busing to desegregate urban schools. According to Bell busing is ideal in desegregating small town and rural schools where it is already an accepted form of transportation. He maintained that widespread busing in an urban setting is confusing and that it places the burden on the school children. He stated a preference for neighborhood schools, all things being equal, and advocated more effort towards integrated housing. In his opinions it upsets Americans to have their children transported away from the neighborhood (Elsassen 1977).

Rice (1974) states that parental and community interests must be a part of the planning and achieving of truly desegregated schools if every child and parent is to receive status as first class citizens. He further states that

> as long as children are transported away from the home and community environment into an artificial school world to be "educated" and then brought back

> to their home and community for "normal" living both the child and the community are being cheated out of the many personal and social benefits that the home-and-school partnership could produce (p.6)

Orfield (1979) contends that busing has worked, sharply reducing segregation in many communities and completely eliminating it in some school districts. He states that busing is usually accepted peacefully, if grudingly, after a transition period. Under the right circumstances desegregation can produce major educational gain. He further states that one of the most important benefits of integration may turn out to be the creation of minority student access to networks of opportunity normally limited to white students.

On the other hand, Armour (1979) says that the results of busing have been mixed, at best, and counterproductive, at worst. He states that busing, whether voluntary or mandatory, has failed to deliver its promised educational and social benefits. He maintains that the achievement gap between minority and white students is as large as it was before busing. In addition, resegregation frequently takes place inside desegregated schools -- in the classroom, in the lunchroom, and in social activities in general.

According to Armour the biggest problem of busing has been white flight with mandatory busing causing so much white flight that segregation was worse after busing than before in Atlanta, Memphis, Detroit, San Francisco, and Pasadena. He suggests that white flight is not the result of racism but rather a sense of injustice; busing deprives parents of choice and the neighborhood school concept without providing a commensurate reward in the form of improved education.

Contrary to Armour's view, findings by Cusick, Gerbing, and Russell (1979) show that many families do move from urban areas to escape busing.

In a Pontiac Michigan sample they found that although some families move because of dissatisfaction with urban life, racial intolerance was primarily antecedent of that dissatisfaction. Cusick et. al found that the combined "anti-busing" and "anti-Pontiac schools" attitude contributed less than half as much to "anti-urbanism" as did the "anti-black attitude." Additionally, they found that busing was unpopular among all whites in their sample. After families moved they were less fearful for their children's safety within the school system.

Findings by Giles, Gatlin, and Cataldo (1974) agree with Cusick et.al. (1979) that whites almost uniformily oppose busing. Giles et. al. suggest that white flight from public schools has manifold consequences. It is largely responsible for the erosion of community support for public education in some districts, has necessitated the repeated revision of desegregation plans in the South in order to maintain racial balance in the face of declining white enrollment, and has brought about resegregation of schools.

Bell (1980) suggests that a redefinition of desegregation is needed in order to make it more culturally democratic and consequently more educationally effective. He contends that the commitment to racial balance is obsolete policy in a time when whites continue to emigrate from the cities to the suburbs while blacks emigrate from the country to the city.

James Coleman, staunch supporter of busing, has revised his opinion of busing as means of desegregating schools, saying that white flight has made desegregation almost impossible, busing has failed. He suggests that ways must be found to attract the middle class back into the urban schools if progress is to be made towards achieving desegregation. (Goodman 1975)

Kenneth Clark (1978) has also reassessed his thinking on the merits of desegregation. He admitted that it was unrealistic of him to have claimed that significant progress in the desegregation of American schools would take place within ten years after Brown. He now concludes that

> It is not the presence of the white child per se that leads to higher achievement for the Negro child who associates with him in class; it is the quality of the education provided because the white child is there that makes the difference...(p.181).

Surveys of opinions of desegregation indicate that most people are in favor of the principle of desegregation but that there is little agreement as to the means of achieving desegregation. Ogletree (1976) surveyed the opinions of Chicago teachers regarding faculty and student desegregation and plans proposed by the Board and H.E.W. His findings showed that while the majority of Chicago teachers favored the concept of integration for teachers (58%) and students (59%), they were opposed to the methods of implementation. Ogletree's findings also revealed that a greater proportion of black teachers favored student desegregation than white teachers (5 to 3).

A May 1968 opinion poll of administrators revealed that 74 percent of the school superintendents surveyed disapproved of busing as a means of desegregating schools. In a similar poll of school board members busing was even more unpopular, 88 percent of the board members surveyed disfavored busing. Half of them saw no educational advantage to busing, more than one-third (37%) viewed busing as an unimportant factor in educational performance, and 13 percent viewed it as an educational disadvantage (Nation's Schools, p.88).

In an April 1972 Harris survey 52 percent of the blacks in a

national sample favored busing as a means of racially balancing the schools and 34 percent opposed busing. In contrast, 17 percent of the whites favored busing to achieve racial balance while 78 percent were opposed (Harris, 1972)

A 1978 Gallup Poll showed that white parents in both the North and the South were becoming more receptive to school integration than they had been fifteen years earlier. Sixty-one percent of Southern parents objected in 1963 and only 7 percent objected in 1978. However, 28 percent of Southern parent would object to sending their children to school where one-half of the students are black; 23 percent of parents in the North had similar objections. Nevertheless, Northern white parents seemed more willing than Southern to send their children to majority-black schools, with 38 percent objecting in the North compared to 49 percent in the South (Kappan, November 1978).

In a study of parents attitudes towards desegregation and specific procedures for promoting racially balanced enrollment Serow and Solomon (1979) found that both minority and white parents showed fairly high levels of support for the principle of desegregation (minority: 70+%; white 60+%). But, levels of support dropped sharply among both groups when asked to consider modes of desegregation. Each group rejected all approaches to desegregation except the free choice method. Larger scale reassignment was the least favored of the four approaches considered (white: 10.3%, minority: 26%). Among the whites, support for desegregation was greatest among the parents directly involved in the programs.

In a February 1980 survey of opinions of busing 58.3 percent of the respondents thought that black children would receive a better education at white schools. A majority (57.3%) would not support bus[illegible]

to achieve racial desegregation, but a significant majority (72.9%) would support busing to achieve quality education. Fifty-seven and four-tenths percent (57.4%) believed that the quality of public school education for blacks had decreased in the last decade (Black Enterprise, August 1980).

Findings in a March 1981 PTA Study indicated that parents of Chicago Public School children will accept methods of desegregation that don't require busing, but they want a choice in how their children are assigned to schools. In the PTA Survey substantial support was indicated for a method of redrawing boundries but without busing. There was heavy opposition to reassignment of students that may require busing.

Findings showed that of the 45 PTA's replying to the questionnaire 9 supported all methods of redrawing boundaries without busing; 11 said they would support some methods of that type, and 13 opposed any approach of that kind. Twelve gave no opinion. However, 32 PTA's opposed reassignment of students possibly requiring busing, with only 1 accepting the method without quantification and 1 accepting some form of that technique. Eleven PTA's expressed no opinion on that approach (Schwartz, 1981).

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